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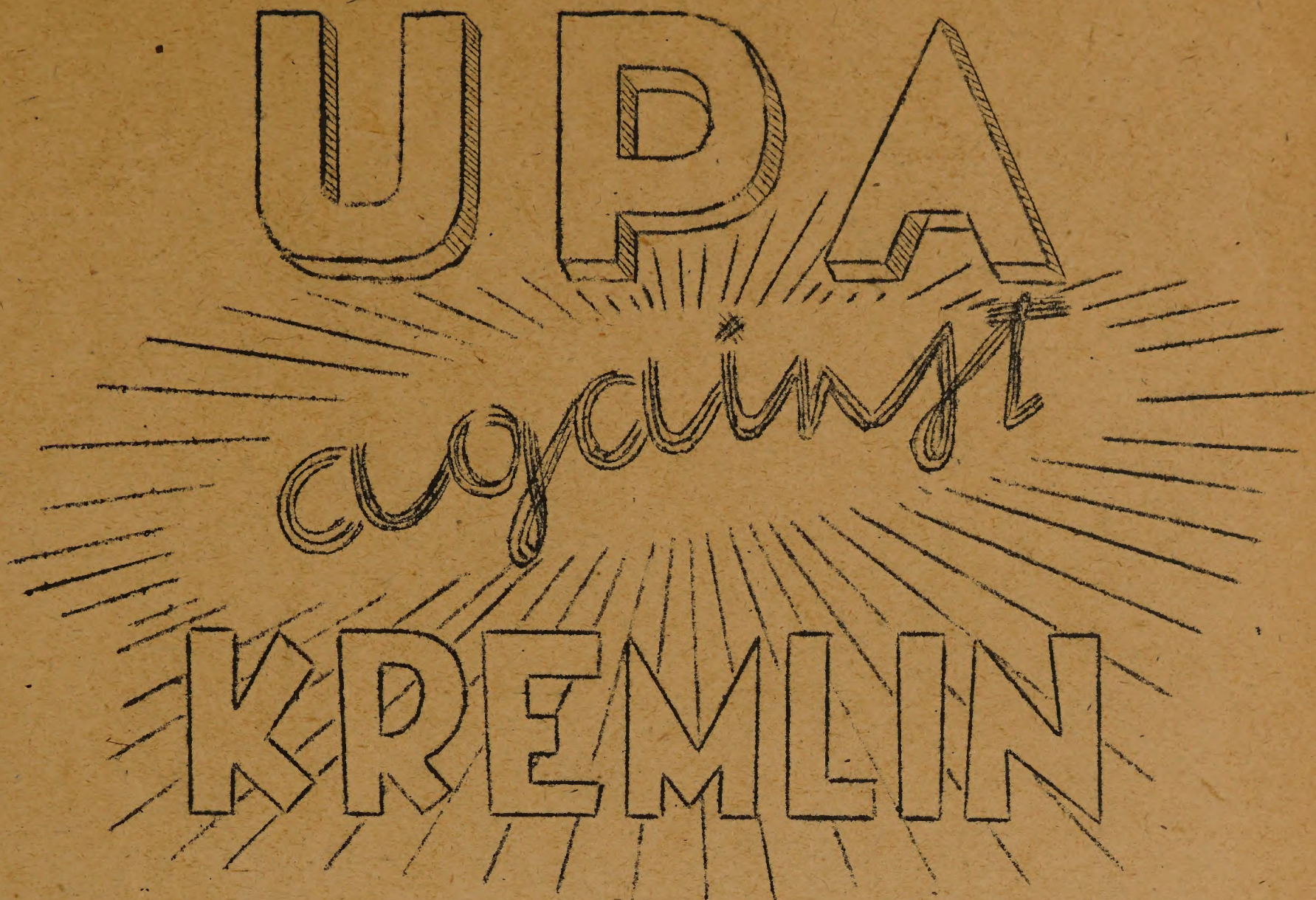
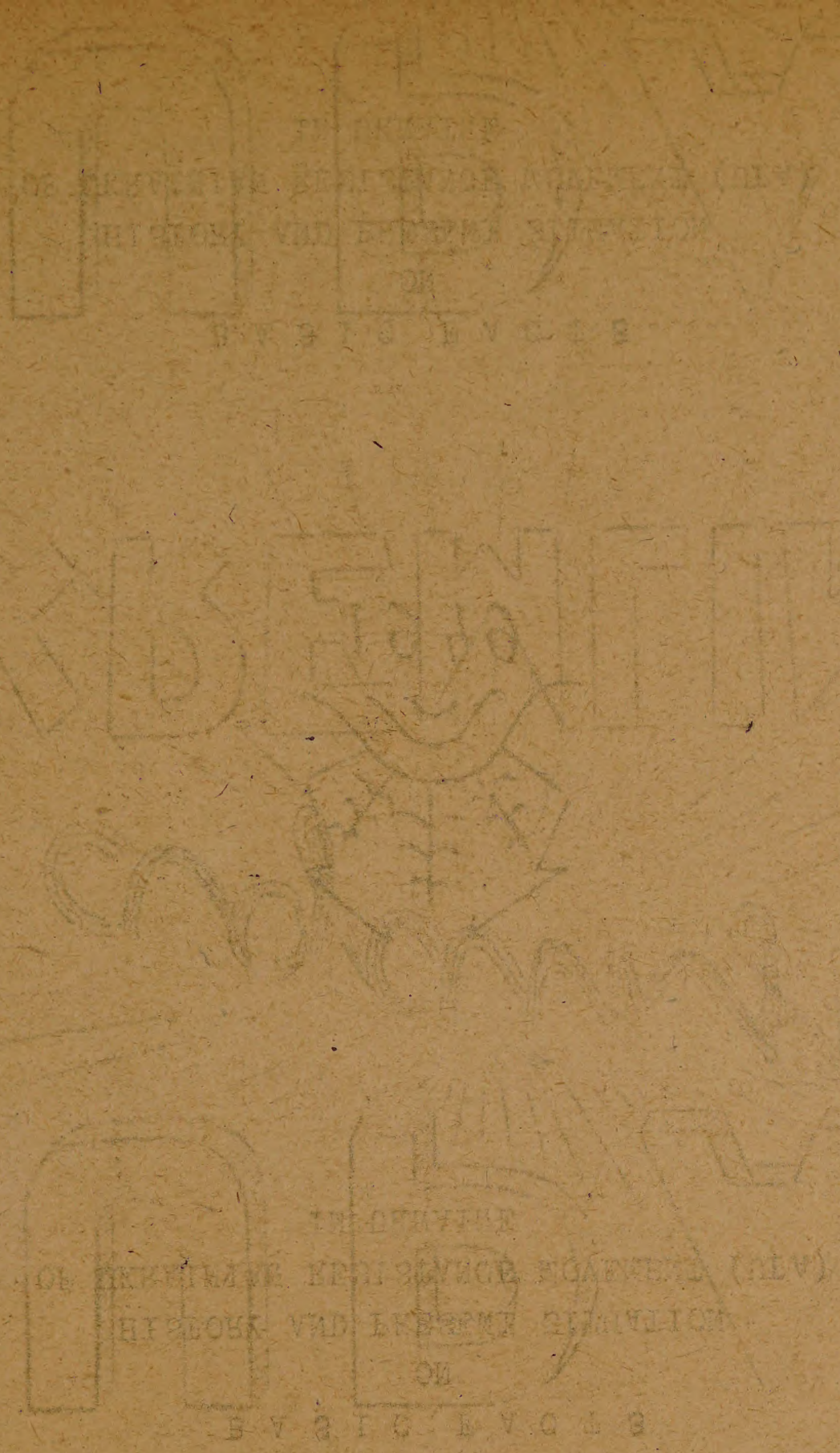


BASIC FACTS
ON
HISTORY AND PRESENT SITUATION
OF UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (UPA)
IN UKRAINE

1949



U P A a g a i n s t K R E M L I N !

B A S I C F A C T S
ON
History and Present Situation
of Ukrainian Resistance Movement (UPA)
in UKRAINE

(A)- TRADITIONS OF UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (UPA)

(1)- Kiev and Moscow -- Two Distinct Worlds

What then is Ukraine ? Who are the Ukrainians ? What is the Ukrainian language ? A simple answer to those questions opens up the entire Ukrainian problem, one of the most complicated in the whole of modern Europe and yet superbly simple if the idea is once adopted that the Ukrainians are a s e p a r a t e people who wish to live their own lives in their own way in their own land.

Nationally, the pre-war territory of the Soviet Union was not a homogenous entity, as many "specialists" on East European Affairs would lead us to believe. Ukraine and White Ruthenia are nationally and culturally distinct and separate nations, the most easterly regions of the western world.

In the middle of the last century the Russian writer Aleksey K. Tolstoy, one of the Russian westerners, found in eastern Europe two separate national types represented by Moscow and Kiev. According to him, as far back as the 13th century, i.e. following the Tartar invasion of eastern Europe, these two types rose out of the ruins of the old Ukrainian state known as RUS. Writes Tolstoy: " One Rus has its roots in the universal, or at least in European culture. In this Rus the ideas of goodness, honor and freedom are understood as in the West. But there is another Rus; the Rus of the dark forests, the Rus of the Taiga, the animal Russia, the fanatic Russia, the Mongol, Tartar-Russia. This last Russia made despotism and fanaticism its ideal... Kiev Rus was a part of Europe. Moscow long remained the negation of Europe." (The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. XIX,1939-40, pp.71-72).

Modern research in the anthropology and pre-history of eastern Europe make it plain that these two distinct national types, Russia and Ukraine, existed long before the Tartar invasion of eastern Europe in the 13th century. Anthropologically the Muscovite-Russians are a type completely different from the Ukrainians. It was only the ancient Ukrainian civilization, which prevailed on all the territory of the Kiev Rus, that lent a superficial similarity to both the inha-

bitants of the Dnieper basin and those who dwelled along the upper course of the Volga.

The Ukrainian language, which is quite different from the Russian, the Ukrainian manners and customs, national art, and historical traditions, all these are external characteristics which distinctly place the Ukrainian people apart from the Russian. But the deepest clevage between the two peoples are found in the Ukrainian mentality and idealism, which are completely at variance with the mentality of the Russians. A Ukrainian is an individualist, he likes to live on his own property, however small it may be. A Russian is exactly the opposite. He has a tendency towards collectivism. Long before the Revolution there existed in Russia the collectivism farms. By their nature Ukrainians are democrats and opponents of all dictatorial government imposed from above. The contrary is true with regard to the Russians who have a natural inclination to accept a government imposed by force and remain subservient to it. From the first years of the history of Muscowy, i.e. from the middle of the 12th century, we meet in Suzdal, and later in Moscow, an absolute government, in the establishment of which the people as a whole had no part and had no influence upon or control over it. It appears therefore that for the Russians the absolute form of the government is quite natural William C.Bullitt writes in his "The Great Globe Itself": "From the time of the Mongols until today, the Russians have been inured to living in a totalitarian state under the tyranny of an absolute dictator" (pp.28) and, of course, he is right.

In connection with their individualism and love of liberty, the Ukrainians feel the need of liberty and struggle for it. It is not surprising that the Ukrainians who live in a self-suffiecient country with a prosserous agriculture, industry and trad, who are a separate nation with their own history, race and language, had on repeated occasions manifested a desire for complete independence. "The only part of the Soviet Union where 'earth-quake shocks' betray from time to time, an underground of dissension is the Ukraine", Mr. Visson stated in an article about the Soviet Union (Literary Digest, May 1946) and Mr. Sumner Wells confirmed this statement recently (New York Herald Tribune). The high national consciousness of the Ukrainians, the clearly ethnic character of Ukraine as a whole and in its separate parts cannot allow the least doubt that such 'earth quake shock' exist. All this is well known among the well informed. Stalin, a realist, is well acquainted with the dynamic qualities of the centuries-old Ukrainian national movement. Back in 1934, at the XVIIth Congress of the Communist Party, he warned against it and

called Ukrainian nationalism a "grave danger". And he combatted it and is now combatting with all forces at his disposal.

Just as the present satellite nations lying on the western bound-areas of the Soviet Union are kept dependent on Moscow by the sheer force of police, so in the course of some two hundred years Ukraine and White Ruthenia were kept within the bounds of Russia - and at present within the Soviet Union - only by the terror of the Russian occupation, against the wishes of the local and native population and by the deliberate decimation of the native population.(e.g. Soviet sponsored famine in Ukraine, 1922 and 1933). Only the utterly mad racial policy of the Nazis who, after having occupied Ukraine during the last war, began to exterminate millions of the local Ukrainian population, in addition to the Jews, helped to regain those territories. A wise German national policy in eastern Europe, which might have taken into consideration the n a t i o n a l a s p i r a t i o n s and the cultural past of these peoples, would have led the Soviets to their downfall. This should be taken into account by all those statemen who in time to come may have to deal with the problems of eastern Europe. If one overlooks the problem of the national independence of Ukraine, White Ruthenia and the other peoples on the western and southern boundaries of Russia, they can only serve to strengthen Moscow and will certainly not rid the world of the threat to its peace. Human thought must take one step further. The free world has to choose between Kiev and Moscow. It means the recognition of the right of Ukraine and the other nations drawn within the Soviet orbit to be masters of their own destiny and the determination to support them in every way. Ukraine must be again what it was in the past, what Kiev always maintained, a definite area bound by interest and ideals to the West, the granary of Europe and a source of blessing and happiness to its own hard-working and liberty-loving population. Just as a Soviet Ukraine is the bulwark of the 'Iron Curtain', so will a free and democratic Ukraine be one of the pillars of a new and better order in the world. It is high time for the public opinion of the United States and the other free countries to recognize this fact and prepare to make it a reality, as soon as possible. It would be a catastrophe for western civilization if the western nations did not take advantage of that slumbering force of the revolutionary spirit of the Ukrainian and other East European peoples. "Ukraine has always aspired to freedom" said Voltaire in the second half of the eighteenth century (History of Charkes XII) and, today, Ukraine proves by the heroism of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) that this conviction of Voltaire was

true not only in the eighteenth century; it is also true in the present atomic epoch of humanity.

(2)- Ukrainian Independence War (1917-1921)

The present struggle of the UPA is a continuation of that centuries old struggle which the Ukrainian people have been waging to win their national freedom. The independence of Ukraine and the union of all Ukrainian lands into ONE NATIONAL STATE had been the ideal of the Ukrainian people for centuries. It has its origin in the independence and unity of the old Ukrainian Kievan State of Volodymyr the Great, Grand Duke of Kiev (98o-1o15) and Yaroslav the Wise (1o18-1o54), it was the high point in the career of Ukrainian Cromwell Bohdan Khmelnitsky (1648-1657) and great patriot Ivan Mazeppa (1687-17o9). Fortunately it was kept alive during the time from the fall of Mazeppa and the First World War (1914-1918).

That centuries old dream, however, was not realized until on January 22, 1918 the Ukrainian Independent State was proclaimed. This development was possible because the Revolution of March 1917 swept away the Tsarist government and destroyed the Russian prison of peoples. The Ukrainian National Republic which was them constituted was then the expression of the will of the whole Ukrainian nation. It was recognized by a number of contemporary countries among others also by France and Great Britain.

This young reborn Ukrainian state became the victim of the Bolshevist Russia which launched an aggressive war against the Democratic Ukraine. The Bolsheviks established a satellite Ukrainian government in Kharkiv and the Red forces began to advance on Ukraine. The defensive war of Ukraine lasted f o u r years (1918 - 1921). The democratic Ukraine was too weak to be able to defend herself with her power against all her enemies: Red and White Russians, Poles, Rumanians and Czechs and the Ukrainian Independent State fell after the years of desperate fight against its enemies. As result of the numerical superiority of the enemy's forces Ukraine was in the end occupied by the Bolsheviks and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic became a part of the Soviet Union (1922). Western Ukraine was divided among the Poles (Galicia and Volhynia), the Rumanians (Northern Bucovina and Bessarabia) and the Czechs (Carpatho Ukraine).

The Ukrainian Independence War has an immense importance for the formation of Ukrainian nation. The independence of Ukraine as well as the unity of all Ukrainian lands proclaimed during this war became THE BASIC DOGMA OF THE POLITICAL FAITH OF THE UKRAINIAN

PEOPLE. During the period from this time to the present millions of Ukrainians sacrificed their lives for this ideal and manifested to the whole world that the Ukrainians have their supreme desire to be A FREE AND UNITED NATION in Europe.

(3)- Between the World Wars I and II (1921-1939)

Military defeat of the Ukrainian armies in the Independence War did not weaken the struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation. It only took on a different form. During the consequent period it was waged in two forms: (1) Underground conspiracy and (2) Legal opposition to the occupants. After the period of mass anti-Bolshevik uprisings in Ukraine (1921-1924) the Ukrainian Resistance Movement assumed the form of secret political organizations. In 1930 an organization called "Spilka Vyzvolennya Ukrayiny" (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) was discovered in Ukraine and a group of alleged members were brought to the trial. In 1931 the discovery of a Ukrainian organization known as "The Nationalist Center" was announced. In 1933 the ever active OGPU (Soviet Political Police) announced the discovery of a Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO). The same year, 1933, witnessed the suicides of the writer Mykole Khvylovy and of the veteran Ukrainian Communist, Mykole Skrypnyk. Still another important current in the Ukrainian nationalist movement was represented by the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), which adopted a position of intransigent, uncomprising assertion of the right of the Ukrainian people to be organized in an independent national state. It was strongly anti-Soviet and anti-Polish and created a number of illegal groups, armed so far as possible. The leading figure in the OUN and perhaps the most militant figure in the Ukrainian nationalist movement after the murder of Gen. Simon Petlura in Paris (1926) was Col. Evhen Konovalets. He met his death when a Soviet agent in a cafe in Rotterdam handed him a bomb which exploded with a fatal effect (1938).

After 1930 there was scarcely a trace of the legal opposition in Soviet-Ukraine, practically all the struggle was waged by revolutinnary methods. The reason for this became even more clear when one considered the merciless methods used by the Soviet government in the annihilation of the Ukrainian people. Several millions of the Ukrainians died of starvation in the artificially created famine in 1922 and, especially, in 1933, and between 1934 and 1937 huge purges took place which were especially felt by the Ukrainian intelligentsia. In these years the Bolsheviks annihilated the entire

Ukrainian intellectual class: scholars, writers, artists, military men, political workers and thousands and ten thousands of thinking people, who formed the highest stratum of the people. Among all these tortured leaders of the Ukrainian art, literature and science, there were many great names and men of undoubted talents, known and honored not only in Ukraine (e.g. Prof. Michael Hrushevsky, famous Ukrainian historian and archaeologist).

The Ukrainian reaction to Polish rule in Western Ukraine assumed also two forms. The legal opposition advocated the policy of obtaining maximum rights for the Ukrainians within the Polish state, and at the same time stressed the right of all Ukrainians to unite themselves in a sovereign and democratic Ukraine within Ukrainian ethnographic boundaries. The conspiracy, represented by the OUN organized attacks on individual Polish officials who were held responsible for oppressive acts of the Government (e.g. the assassination of the Polish Minister of Interior Pieracki in Warsaw, 1934). Some brutal reprisals were inflicted pretty indiscriminately on the Ukrainian population by Polish troops and police, especially in the autumn of 1930. Liberaries and cooperatives were destroyed, Boy Scout organizations with Ukrainian membership were dissolved, and Ukrainian high schools were closed. This "pacification", as it was officially euphemistically termed, was quite widely reported in the American press at that tims. The Soviet government regarded always the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Western Ukraine as a dangerous enemy. One of the reasons Stalin has been insistent on annexing Poland's former eastern provinces is his desire to bring all the Ukrainiams under his rule and stamp out all traces of non-Communist Ukrainian nationalism. The suddenly revealed conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in August, 1939 made possible the realization of Stalin's plans. On September 17, the Soviet Army invaded from the east despite various treaties, on the ground that the Polish Republic had ceased to exist as an organized state and occupied the whole of Western Ukraine giving official aim:"liberation" and "protection" of the Ukrainian "brethren".

It is of importance to note the fact that the very first opposition to Hitler's plans was offered by the Ukrainian nationalists in Carpatho-Ukraine, a small mountainous country which was a part of Czechoslovakia. When in the autumn of 1938 Czechoslovakia was rebuilt along federal lines Carpatho Ukraine got autonomy. In March

1939, at the time when Mr. Benes, president of Czechoslovakia surrendered the freedom of his state, and the Czech army did not fire a single shot in defence of its land, the freedom-loving Ukrainians were not in the habit of bowing to aggressors and, when Hitler let his puppet Hungarian army march against Carpatho-Ukraine, the Ukrainians organized the bitter armed resistance against the Hungarians and Hitler. It was the first shot fired against the so-called Nazi New Order in Europe and the small country of Carpatho-Ukraine won then the sympathy and admiration of the world.

(4)- The 1939-1945 Period

Poland was partitioned between the Soviet-Union and Germany according to the honeymoon Hitler-Stalin pact in the autumn of 1939. Eastern Galicia and Volhynia with its large Ukrainian population, were incorporated into the Soviet-Ukraine. Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina were taken from Rumania by the Soviet-Union in the summer of 1940. Northern Bucovina and the predominantly Ukrainian parts of Bessarabia were then assigned to the Soviet Ukraine.

Active Ukrainian nationalists remained in the country and worked out plans for the development of a nationalist underground movement in the whole of the Soviet-Ukraine. When the Germans struck at the Soviet-Union on June 22, 1941, Ukrainian underground forces took advantage of the confusion and demoralization in the Soviet occupied regions and seized control of many places.

The existence of a Ukrainian state was proclaimed in Lviv, the largest city of Eastern Galicia which in the night to June 30, 1941 was seized by the Ukrainian underground forces. They took im possession the radio-station in Lviv and proclaimed from there the re-establishment of the Ukrainian State with Dr. Kost Levitsky, former Premier of the Republic of Western Ukraine, as President of the Ukrainian National Council and Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, editor of the pre-war illegal Ukrainian nationalist "Bulletin" as Prime-Minister. This proclamation was a clear challenge to the German government to declare its policy.

Had the Germans been willing to co-operate with the Ukrainian nationalist leadership in order to set Ukraine free from Soviet rule a good deal of Ukrainian-German co-operatuon might have been anticipated. But the Nazi leadership, drunk with power and success,

chose to follow a policy of unilateral conquest, domination and enslavement. The Ukrainian government was liquidated and prominent Ukrainian nationalists were shot or imprisoned. During the opening weeks of the campaign in the East, Ukrainians deserted from the Soviet armies by hundreds of thousands. They expected to take part in the liberation of their country. But Hitler sent them to the camps where they had to die from hunger and misery because he rejected all plans to draw the Ukrainian people and the peoples of the Soviet territories into the struggle against the Bolsheviks. There is no doubt today that the chief reason for Hitler's debacle in the East, was his blundering policy, especially in Ukraine.

Thus from the first days of the German occupation of Ukraine a relentless struggle began between Nazis and the Ukrainian people. An extremely complicated struggle for freedom began under Ukrainian nationalist leadership. Ukrainian insurgent forces fought simultaneously gainst the German military rule, reisting food requisitions and deportations for labor service in Germany, and against Soviet armed unite. Separate guerilla units, formed by the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), in 1941, everywhere in Ukraine, and particularly in the northern forests regions of western and central Ukraine, were all united as early as December, 1942, under one SUPREME COMMAND. Thus the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA-UKRAINSKA POVSTANCHA ARMIA) came into being.

It should be kept in mind that this war against the Germans was launched at the time when the German power was at its peak and when Nazi Germany celebrated her greatest military victories. It flared up, when other nations, getting aid of their governments in exile and the support of Western Allies, were only thinking of the organizations of resistance movements, The Ukrainian people started its armed resistance against the Nazi invaders at the time, when corresponding movements in Western Europe were not yet born (1941). It was perhaps one of the first underground armies which operated on a big scale against Nazi Germany, although it got no aid from anybody and relied on the own forces of the Ukrainian people.

This struggle against Nazi Germany cost Ukraine hundred thousands of casualties and brought it an unbelievable destruction. What was once a land of proud beauty has become one of the most desolate places in whole Eastern Europe. But the Ukrainians have definitely helped to destroy the German menace and the history of that dynamic liberation movement of the Ukrainian masses repeatedly attests to the will of the Ukrainian people: to be governed by themselves, with their own consent and not to endure brutal rule against their consent.

It must be emphasized that the Ukrainian people took an a c t i v e part in the war against the Nazi - Germany. The guerilla warfare initiated by the Ukrainian nationalist leadership was whole-heartedly approved by the Ukrainian people. They gave no rest to the German legions. The Ukrainian population, old men, women and children organized in guerilla warfare, effectively disrupted German communications, wrecked their supplies and consequently gave their full support to the UPA. Owing to this, the UPA was able to accomplish that, which was impossible for the underground forces in Western Europe, i.e. the clearing of large regions from enemy forces and administrating them by their own government. In the second half of 1943 and in the first half of 1944 the situation in Western Europe was such, that Germans were only in possession of main roads and larger urban centers. The rest of the territory was controlled by the UPA and administrated by it. The UPA was the only underground army in Eastern Europe, having under arms about 2oo,ooo Ukrairians - men and women, older and younger people, workers and farmers, intellectuals and clergymen. It was equipped with arms seized from the Germans and the Russians, and had numerous supply centers at its disposal as well as training camps and field hospitals, which were well camoflaged and guarded in the mountains, forests and marshlands. The soldiers of the UPA were well fed and clothed, the wounded nursed. Consequently Ukrainian and Jewish physicians, pharmaceutists, nurses, specialists and social workers were taken into the UPA which, thus, became an armed organization of the whole Ukrainian people. The UPA was able to perform striking actions against the German occupation forces. Writes an eye-witness in "Österreichische Zeitung" (from Febr.2o,1947, article " Im Rücken der deutschen Front "(: " Die ersten Zeichen aktiven Widerstandes wurden schon im Spätherbst 1941 bemerkbar, und 1942 ergab sich bereits die Gewissheit, dass der Zusammenschluss der Partisanen zu Gruppen im Gange war, dass sie bereits über einen Kurierdienst verfügten und gewisse Gegenden zu Feldlagern ausbauten. 1943 brach dann im Rücken der deutschen Front die wahre Hölle los. In diesem Jahr hatte sich die Organisation bereits so gefestigt, dass die Partisanen den Kampf auch in die Stadt Rowno selbst trugen, die sowohl das Hauptquartier des deutschen Befehlshabers, wie auch den Riesenstab des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung Koch-Königsberg beherbergte. In den Reihen der ukrainischen Partisanen kämpften Männer und Frauen jeden Alters und aller möglichen Berufe. Sie richteten von Anfang an ihr Augenmerk auf die deutschen Nachschublinien - auf die Bahnstrecken, Strassen, Flussläufe und Kanäle. Selbst die grossen Rollbahnen, auf denen sich der

motorisierte Verkehr zur deutschen Front abspielte, waren bedroht. Tausende Minen, in einem einzigen Monat von Patrioten zur Nachtzeit ausgelegt, sprengten Strassenfahrzeuge in die Luft und schleuderten Eisenbahnzüge aus den Geleisen. In einer Nacht wurden oft zehn bis zwanzig Anschläge auf wichtige Bahnstrecken verübt und es kam vor, dass sogar die zur Geleisefreimachung ausgeschickten Werkstattzüge auf Minen fuhren. Die zwei am schwersten getroffenen Hauptstrecken waren Kowel-Kiwerce-Rowno und Kowel-Korosten-Kiew. Die Strecke von Kiwerce wurde im Laufe der Zeit ein wahrer Friedhof zerbeulter und ausgebrannter Waggonruinen. Der D.-Zug Königsberg-Rowno, noch 1942 mit Schlafwagen für Koch's ostpreussische Lakaien im fahrplanmässigen Tagesverkehr, fuhr bereits 1943 mit Verspätungen, dann oft nur noch fallweise und blieb schliesslich überhaupt aus. Selbst als der Nachtverkehr vorübergehend ganz eingestellt wurde und die Züge nur noch bei Tageslicht auf Sichtweite hintereinander fuhren, gaben die Partisanen das Rennen nicht auf: Sie legten einfach im Sprunglauf die Mine auf die Schiene und machten sie mit der Abreissleine unter dem fahrenden Zug zur Detonation. Manche Seitenbahnen waren gar nicht mehr befahrbar - Partisanenhand hatte sie für immer lahmgelegt. Der Strassenverkehr konnte freilich nicht im gleichen Mass wie die Bahn blockiert werden, wurde aber doch auch empfindlich getroffen. Feuerüberfälle mit automatischen Waffen und Minen zwangen zur Einstellung der Nachtfahrten und zur Bildung von Geleitzügen, vielfach im Schutz von Panzerwagen. Strassenzüge mussten überhaupt gesperrt werden. Im Herbst 1943 war es um die Sicherheit auf den Strassen der Ukraine bereits so schlecht bestellt, dass sogar auf der Hauptrollbahn Rowno-Lemberg nur Kolonnen mit einer bestimmten Schusswaffenstärke verkehren durften..." The autor of this article ends with such a statement:
" Allein dieses Beispiel eines Partisanenkrieges, der allerdings auf die grosse Tradition des Jahres 1918 verweisen konnte, zeigt ganz klar den unverfälschten Begriff von Freiheitskampf und Widerstandsbewegung vor den Augen des geschichtlichen Bewusstseins unserer Zeit. Aktives Kämpfertum, von keiner Gefahr zurückschreckend, schreibt sich ein Epos unsterblicher Grösse, ein Epos des Freiheitswillens, der alle Gewalt zerbricht ".

In 1943, Ukrainian Insurgent units made their appearance in the southern part of Western Ukraine, and fought against both the Nazis and the Reds, when they advanced to the Carpathian mountains in Spring of 1944. By Summer, 1943, in Galicia, units of the UPA occupied most of the Carpathian and sub-Carpathian terrain and established here their

supply depots, field hospotals and officer schools. In vain tried the Germans to prevent the Ukrainians from building their insurgent forces in the Carpathian mountains. In September 1943, German overwhelming forces attacked training-camps of the UPA near Dolyna, Western Ukraine (Galicia). The attack was pushed back. In a battle on a mountain-railway near Vygoda the Germans lost more then 200 killed and a considerable number of wounded soldiers.

The Nazi-Germans combatted the Ukrainian Insurgent Army by launching their offensives against it, by an unheard of terror against the Ukrainian population and, especially, against the Ukrainian intellectuals and by propaganda. Three times (April-May, 1943, July-Oktober 1943 and February 1944) during the German occupation of Ukraine the Nazi Germans launched their offensives against the UPA. The entire campaign was fierce and bitter. The enemy used aeroplanes, artillery, tanks, followed closely by infantry. Several attacks against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) could be repulsed with heavy losses for the enemy, although it was very difficult to settle the precise number of their losses, because they took along with them their wounded and killed. In the first half of April 1943, the UPA has cleared off the northwest of Volhynia completely removing German administration and police. Germans had launched there a whole division. Battles lasted three days and the Germans were crushed. Only one SS regiment lost 28o killed. In May 1943, Victor Lutze, CIC of SA was killed on the highway Kovel-Brest Litovsk in a fight with the UPA which made an ambush on this road. On July 24, 1943 the German police destroyed three Ukrainian villages Toolychiv, Lityn and Radovich prov. Kovel and murdered several hundreds of defenceless people. A battle took place between Germans and Ukrainian armed detachments and Germans were defeated in spite of the assistance of their planes. Enemy lost 17o killed and 2o motor-cars. On October 8, 1943, on the road Rafalivka - Volodymyrets detachments of the UPA surrounded and annihilated a German punitiary expedition, killed 3oo men and captured 1 tank. On January 9, 1944 near the village Lyschirky, prov. Kamyanets-Podilskyi in a battle against Germans a detachment of the UPA captured 3 motor-cars, 7 machine guns, 2 trench-mortars, 3o,ooo pieces of ammunition and other war material. The attack against the Black Forest in the Carpathian Mountains near Stanislavov could be repulsed with very high losses for the Germans. Counter-attacks of Ukrainian insurgents and their shook troops launched at several points of Western Ukraine frustrated temporary enemy successes at other points. At least the Nazi offensives were broken and the Germans were defeated. They restricted to the bombardment of the

Ukrainian villages and towns and to the murdering of the political prisoners as well as of the peaceable population near the large towns. The Ukrainian civilian population was in the beginning suffering heavy losses, but later the major part of towns-people fled im the regions administered by the UPA and, on the other hand, in the villages a system of the signalmen had secured the population against the German motorized expeditions. Like in the ancient times of Tartar incursions, the Ukrainian population signalled by the bonfires the approach of the enemy.

The troops of the UPA did not restrict to defence. They were attacking and disarming the detachments of German army and police, capturing war material and food from the German convoys, setting free workers taken to forced labor to Germany. One day, all the Ukrainian police of Volhynia passed with their arms to the UPA. The propaganda of the UPA sucseded in estranging from the Germans their allies. The Hungarian, Rumanian, Slovak, French, Belgian etc troops stationing in Ukraine were used to the expeditions against the Ukrainians. Gradually, the commands of these troops agreed with the High Command of the UPA in observing their neutrality during the Ukraino-German hostilities. Many foreign detachments, depaired by forced fight, abandoned their arms to the UPA; many foreign soldiers voluntarily enlisted im the UPA.

After the several months of hard battles, the Germans were forced to retire to the large towns, protected by strong garrisons. Communications between these towns was only maintained by strong convoys and only on principal roads. But even in their centers the Germans were not masters of situation, because the troops of the UPA succumbed in taking possession of the prisons and of the concentration camps in the largest towns of Volhynia (Kremyanets, Bubno, Lutsk etc) and in the Carpathian Mountains. The concentration camp in Dubyna, near Skole was seized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in August, 1943, all political prisoners being set free and the guard executed.

The rest of the country was exclusively dominated by the UPA and administered by the Ukrainian authorities. Agriculture and industry was normally developing under the protection of the UPA. Agrarian commissions, appointed by the Supreme Command of the UPA, were dividing large estates among poor peasants. Schools and cultural institutions operated normally. Civilian and military police of the UPA secured order. The Ukrainian youth, enlisted in the UPA, were being trained in the training camps and officer schol's, operating in Volhynia and in the Carpathian Mountains.

In this way, the UPA became the third military and political power in Eastern Europe and, soon, became the champion of all revolutionary forces representing not only the resistance movement of Ukraine but of all subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe. Caucasus and Central Asia. As a result of the well planned and directed propaganda of the UPA command the German military units composed of former German war prisoners taken on the Eastern Front which were stationing in Ukraine and were directed by the Germans against the UPA were gained by means of proclamations and broadcasting in their mother tongues and filtered in the ranks of UPA. A constantly increasing number of them, of "White Ruthenians", Georgians, Armenians, Uzbeks, Tartars and Cossacks led to the organization of separate national legions of those peoples within the UPA. The not result of this process was the convening on November 21 and 22, 1943, on the territories being under the control of UPA, of a conference of representatives of Soviet enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, attended by 39 delegates. The conference drew up a platform of common aims of the enslaved nationalities and adopted a common slogan: " Freedom of the peoples, freedom of the individual !" Thus the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (A B N) came into being.

The Germans lost their strife. They could only answer with an unheard of terror. At this time, at the close of 1943 and in the beginning of 1944 the whole of Ukraine was the theater of continual bloody scenes. Ukrainian patriots were shot or hanged by thousands and in all cities of Ukraine these executions were performed in public. The Nazi-Germans tended to detain the Ukrainian population from co-operating with the UPA by establishing courts-martials, shooting down hostages, bringing public actions against meny persons, burning to ashes the whole villages with their population and taking the Ukrainians to the forced labor in Germany. Here are typical specimen of the German terror in Ukraine. On July 14, 1943 a terrible slaughter of the Ukrainian and Czech population took place in the village M a l y n, prov. Dubno in Volhynia. The people were driven by force into the wooden church and b u r n t a l i v e. Those who could find no room in the church were driven into the former village hall and burnt, too. Altogether about 85o persons were burnt. Shrieks of agonizin persons in the fire were heard at about 3 miles. A similar incident took place in the village of Rubkiv, pro. Kostopil, on July 2, 1943 and in many other villages of Ukraine. On Nov. 17, 1943 a mass trial and execution of the captured UPA-men were held in public in Stanislavov, Galicia. At the same time the German police troops burnt

the village B i l i O s l a v y in the Carpathian Mountains and murdered the population: old men, wifes and children. Indeed Ukraine had many L i d i c e of its own, at this time. Mass shootings of the Ukrainian population, which were performed always in public were held in Vorochta, Stryj, Drohobycz, Sambor and other towns of Galicia. A mass execution of the political prisoners of the prison in Rivne, Volhynia (nearly 5oo persons) was applied as a "hard counter-measure" for the " terrible " deeds of Ukrainian insurgents.

The Germans violently combatted the UPA by their propaganda. They stated in their leaflets the UPA were directed by " Bolshevist emissaries. They tried to demonstrate the Ukrainians that their resistance and their fight are useless and hoped by their propaganda to weaken, to corrupt and to break the fighting-morale of the Ukrainian people. Insidious persuasions alternated with threats of bloody reprisals. Here you see one of the mentioned leaflets:

To the Working and Peacable Ukrainian Population !

The gangs of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) have comitted very grave crimes, They murder not only German and Polish families, but also they have killed a great number of Ukrainian families - their own countrymen, whose only fault was their loyal and diligent accomplishing of their duties. The German police was forced by these terrible deeds to apply hard counter-measures. Many a one of you, Ukrainians has allowed to be persuaded into escaping. Consequently, you have made yourselves suspect of belonging to the gangs. Come back and continue cultivating your soil. Having comitted no crime you have no reason to fear. If your farm is destroyed apply with confidence to the German authorities: they will give you employment, home, and bread. Ukrainians ! Be prudent ! It is only fools that set about waging a guerilla against the powerful German State. In such a manner you will never build up your Independent Ukraine ! You will only render unhappy yourselves and your families ! Your villages will be reduced to ashes, your country will be devastated. It is starvation that will be the consequence of this foolish deed. Assist, therefore, the German police in their fight against the gangsters. The criminal OUN - this Bandera movement is disturbing the peaceable life on our country and that is why it must be and will be crushed out without pity. With this movement, everybody will be exterminated who is aiding it in whatever way. Everybody who know the gangsters and does not denounce them at the German authorities, will be severely punished, too. To save yourselves, your children, your country and your countrymen from disaster, denounce against any gangster, any Bandera partisan at the German authorities. The German police will protect you against their vengeance. Aid in establishing peace and order in Ukraine ! Signed: Commissioner-General of Volhynia and Podolia and SS and Police Commander in Chief.

The German police could not protect their charges against the vengeance of the Ukrainian people and their armed forces - the UPA. On Sept.11, 1943, the chief agent of the German Gestapo and at the same time the agent of NKVD-Michael Tarnavskyj was captured and put before the

court-martial of the UPA. He was tried and condemned to death.

In connection with their propaganda, the German governmental officials in Ukraine, in different ways, endeavoured to brand the good reputation of the Ukrainiam fighters for liberty as well as to degrade in the world's opiniom the Ukrainian liberating fight to "riots of the local population". The Ukrainians were being shot down for the belonging to the UPA, for cooperation with the UPA, but in German public notices they were generally charged with " brigandage ", or "assistance of brigands". The Ukrainian liberation movement which at the same time combatted the Red partisans in Ukraine and waged its struggle for freedom against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks was charged of "Bolshevik inspiration" and "Bolshevik assistance". Only by Spring, 1944, after the collapse of the German front in Ukraine, German commanders im Galicia hastened to find connections with the troops of the UPA and proposed them an anti-Bolshevist collaboration. But any negotiations with the Germans were interdicted by the UPA command (one commander of the UPA was even condemned to death by the court-martial of the UPA and shot for not having observed this order). By autumn, 1944, the German police suddenly changed: the German press was full of praises of the UPA for their anti-Bolshevist successes, the UPA were now called "Ukrainian fighters for freedom", although, some months ago, they were called by the same press "Ukrainian national brigands". The leader of the German sponsored Russian "Vlassov Army" in his interview given to the international pressmen and printed in "Völkischer Beobachter" from Dec. 7, 1944 confirmed the importance and the strength of the UPA and emphasized the efforts of this army im their fight against the Bolsheviks. But it was already the time when the Germans had left the territory of Ukraine.

The executions and the German propaganda could not break the spirit of the fighting Ukrainian people. During the last months of 1943 and the first months of 1944, when the Soviet counter-offensive began to roll near to Western-Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) consisted of four large groups: (1) UPA-North operating in Polssia and northern Volhynia, (2) UPA-West in Eastern-Galicia and in the district of Kholm, (3) UPA-South in Northern Bucovina and in the region of Kamyanets Podolskyi and Vinnitsa, and (4) UPA-East in the wood sectors north of Kiev and Zhitomir, in the area of Bazar - the battle-field of famous Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik uprising in 1921. These 2 groups comprised more then 200,000 armed Ukrainian insurgents which were united under one command - the Supreme Command of the UPA

with major Klachkivsky (KLYM SAVUR) as the chief commander and general Stupnytsky (HONCHARENKO) as his chief of staff. Both officers fell in fight with the Red Army, by Spring 1944. Late general Stupnytsky, former colonel of Ukrainian Army 1918-1921 and the hero of an anti-Bolshevist uprising in 1921 had the chief merits in the development of the military strength of the UPA. He and his collaborators indefatigably worked on the organization of the UPA, on its training and supplies and on leading its operations. After the death of major Klachkivsky and general Stupnytsky the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council delegated to general TARAS CHUPRYNKA the responsibility for all operations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He was appointed Supreme Commander of the UPA and he is holding this post up to now.

The growth of the UPA went in step with the growth of the OUN, as the sole important political organization in Ukraine during the German occupation and at present. But the second occupation of Ukraine by the Soviets raised the apprehension that this occupation would turn out to be of long duration. The general strategy of the Ukrainian independence movement had to therefore be broadened and laid out accordingly. First of all, however, full national unity had to be secured. It became evident that the supreme command of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation couldn't rest in the hands of only one party. This conclusion was reached as a result of the development in Ukraine during the German occupation. In very short time the UPA lost its appearance of a guerilla organization of one political party and became all-national in its character. The lines of the UPA, were swollen with Ukrainian peasants, workers and intelligentsia who were not the members of the OUN. Thus, the UPA became an armed political organization common to all, in which the whole Ukrainian people participated and took pride. Even the most indifferent obeyed the orders of the UPA, regarding it as the Ukrainian rule. This way the general consolidation of the Ukrainian nation into one military camp was brought about.

In this situation the necessity arose to give an outward expression of this internal consolidation by the form of a supreme directing body. It was necessary that a supreme political and state organ should crown the national struggle, in which all forces and elements taking part in struggle would be represented. In June, 1944, a Ukrainian National Congress was summoned on the territory occupied by the UPA. This Congress gave birth to the SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL (ukr. UHVR), as the supreme state of the Ukrainian nation for the duration of its struggle for freedom and sovereignty. This Council

is built on democratic principles. Its executive is the General Secretariate. At the head of each department there is a General Secretary. The aims and purposes of the Council are expressed in its Constitution and its Proclamation to the Ukrainian People. Some extracts of this Proclamation are quoted below.

> ... The Suppreme Ukrainian Liberation Council swears before you Ukrainian people, that:
> It will fight to make you the sole master of your soil
> For a just social order without oppression and exploitation
> For the destruction of serfdom
> For free enterprise of the peasant on his own land
> For free enterprise for the worker
> For wide initiative of the working people in all branches of the economic order
> For the widest possible development of the Ukrainian national culture ...
>
> ... The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council greets the struggle of enslaved people for their liberation. The Ukrainian people desire to live with them, particularly with their neighbors, in neighborly friendship and to collaborate with them in the struggle against common enemies ...

In addition to the above proclamation and its constitution, the Council worked out a p o l i t i c a l p r o g r a m for the entire Ukrainian underground. The program envisages a democratic process of installing government authority in a free Ukraine, and reserves for the Ukrainian people the right to choose their form of government. Economic democracy is also envisaged unit, it is based on the right of private ownership and free enterprise. The Communist system, states the program of UHVR, is alien to Ukrainian tradition and repugnant to spirit of the Ukrainian people.

Such was the Ukrainian underground movement at the times of German occupation of Ukraine and such was the Ukrainian underground government which came into being on the eve of Soviet re-occupation of Ukraine. According to its constitution it must be always in Ukraine and only its delegations are permitted to go outside the borders of Ukraine. For the great part of the Ukrainian people it is now a true Ukrainian government opposing to "Quisling" Soviet-Ukrainian government of Manuilsky, Kaganovich and Khrushchov. As such it is recognized by the UPA and by the broad masses of Ukrainian population.

The German retreat from Ukraine was utilized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) to gather for its use as many weapons as possible. New methods of warrying were adopted. The Ukrainian people met the Soviets fully prepared for the new struggle which is being led up to now and will be led on until the full victory is won.

(B) - THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (UPA)

(1) - The Importance of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement (UPA)

Among the movements of liberation prevailing among the other nations subjugated by the Soviets, the greatest publicity has recently been acquired by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which had been called in the Western press after the name of one of Ukrainian patriots - Stephan BANDERA- (leader of the OUN) Banderivtsi or Banderovici. The UPA is the revolutionary army of the Ukrainian people and one of the forms of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. For three years now since the end of military operations it has been proudly offering stern opposition to the powerful Soviet-Union whose excellently trained detachments of the MVD (GPU = NKVD - Soviet political police, or Red Gestapo as it is sometimes called) are not quite capable of copying with it.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is fighting today on the steppes of Ukraine in the Dnieper regions; from time to time it occupies the whole areas of the Carpathian mountains, and the boggy regions of northern Ukraine known as Poleessia. For months it fought in south-eastern Poland, i.e. on the Ukrainian ethnic territories which Moscow had given to Poland. Sometimes the detachments of the UPA are fighting in Czechoslovakia hand in hand with the Slovak nationalists. They even cross Hungary and Austria into Yougoslavia where they lend a helping hand to the Yougoslavia's "krusars" who are struggling with the tyranny of Tito. Another detachments of the Ukrainian insurgents pass White-Ruthenia and the wilderness of Bialowieza and enter the Lithuania to join the Lithuanian fighters for freedom or to cross into the East-Prussia where live the Ukrainians re-settled from Poland. They appear on the Polish soil, in Silesia and Poznania, near Lublin and Bialystok and cooperate with Polish insurgents from National Armed Forces (NSZ). In Vienna and in Bratislava they are fling about the leaflets of ABN - the organization formed on the initiative of the UPA as early as 1943, whose chief aim is to coordinate the underground action of the other peoples subjugated by the Soviets. The real scope of the UPA actions in under-Soviet Europe goes out far beyond the cradle of the UPA-movement - Ukraine. In their fight of long duration the Ukrainians were able to develop the best methods and to create the convincing ideology of the struggle against the Bolshevist totalitarianism.

Nevertheless, the chief center of this fight for freedom was and still remained to be Ukraine. At the moment bloody purges

are taking place in Soviet. Ukraine. As some years before, in 1930, 1934, and 1937/38, its victims are Ukrainian scientists and scholars, artists and prominent figures who are charged of "Ukrainian nationalism". Ukrainian press and literary life were most heavily hit. Premier Khrushchov charged that the Communist Party of Ukraine failed "to organize widespread criticsm of the hostile Ukrainian nationalist ideology in the press". He revealed that a "mass replacement of the Party's personnel" is taking place. This purge is an additional proof that legal methods of opposing the existing regime in the realities of life in the Soviet-Union are unthinkable. Such Soviet practices compell the nations enslaved by the Bolshevism to f i g h t in their underground organizations. This truth was long realised by the Ukrainians who have been fighting Bolshevik imperialism for the last thirty years. This fact places Ukrainian Resistance Movement in a prominent position among the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and Central Asia as well as the " satellite" nations under the Soviet sphere of influence.

The Soviet Union respects no boundaries in its cold war against the United States. It tries to enlist the aid of every force of subversion and disintegration in all the five continents. It has its corps of conscious and unconscious agents working on American soil. The entire recent trend of events, the formation of the Cominform, the breakdown of discussion about Germany, the Soviet blockade of Berlin points to a period of acute crisis in the realitions between Soviet totalitarian dictatorship and the free world. The United States must look for their allies behind the " Iron Curtain". Among others Ukraine can be a most valuable ally if the possibilities of its resistance movement are fully realized and exploited in the United States. It is high time that a world which is seriously interested in stopping the advance of Communism should take note of these possibilities and help the Ukrainians in their gallant struggle against the Kremlin.

(2) - The Territory of Ukraine Controlled by the UPA

In the ethnic territories (about 938,100 sq.km) of the Ukrainian people (1939 - 45,000,000) there is now existing the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSSR) with, 1939, 180,000 sq.Mi. and 40,000,000 of inhabitants (80% Ukrainians). The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which in the spring of 1945 was formally accepted at the Conference in San Francisco as a member of the United Nations, is theoretically figuring as an independent state in the frame of the Soviet Union. As well, though it seems to be a separate republic it does not enjoy full liberty of action, as the most important

(political), economical and cultural) affairs concerning Ukraine are being decided by the authoratives of the central Moscow administration.

Ukraine - as a plain country, poor in forests - presents extremely disadvantageous conditions for a guerilla warfare. Regions more suitable for such purpose are lying in Western Ukraine - the marshy forests of Polessia and of northern Volhynia, in the north of Kiev and Zhitomir and in the Carpathian Mountains in the south. Besides the Carpathian Mountains, with their gentle slopes, broad valleys and this forests cannot be compared with natural fortresses of the Alps, or Dinario mountains, or the like. Forced by Russian Tsarist troops in 1914, and by the Red Army in 1944, the Carpathian Mountains do not represent any serious obstacle to a great army. All the more, these mountains are accessible to light troops directed against the insurgents.

The Ukrainian insurgents operating in such unfavorable regions are the only ones in Europe who were not and are not supported from the air. They could only get their arms and ammunition from their enemy by disarming enemy detachments and by assailing enemy military transports. The only support the Ukrainians have in their fight is the full support of the whole Ukrainian population. This support goes out far beyond the accidental help given from time to time. Even the Ukrainians who are in service of local administration are supporting the actions of the UPA by their informations and secret services. It is not an exaggeration when we state that the fact that the UPA survived all Bolshevik offensives, raids and blockades was due to the network of the UPA -- collaborators in the ranks of Soviet army and police who rendered the Ukrainian Insurgent Army their services and offered their help on every step.

Even today the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is controlling the area of more than 200,000 sq.km with a population of more than 15,000,000 inhabitants. In these areas the Soviet are forced to retire leaving strong garrisons in a few large towns. It is the area of Polessia and Northern Volhynia, partly Galicia and southern Volhynia, Bucovina and the area of the Carpathian Mountains and Subcarpathian area. The recent news tell about the increase of the Ukrainian Insurgent movement in the mountains of the Crimes. The woods north of Kiev are reported to be full of Red Army deserters and other anti-Bolshevik elements. The Ukrainian Insurgent movement has its strong cells in Odessa, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk and Stalino and among the miners of the Donets bassin. In Galicia the communication between the towns and garrisons is only maintained by strong convoys

the same is reported about Bucovina. Strong groups of the Ukrainian Insurgents divided in small detachments of 8-15 man did not cease to be active in the remaining part of Ukraine (Lviv, in the large towns of Eastern Ukraine, province of Podollia and Kherson etc according to the constant rumors and reports which appear in the world press.

Thus, not for a moment did the Ukrainian Resistance Movement permit the Soviet ocupants to teel themselves master of Ukraine !

(3) - The Organization of the Ukrainian Insurgent Movement

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement consists of the twomparts: (1) Ukrainian Insurgent Army, (2) Terfitorial services like OUN, Security Service (SB), Ukrainian Red Cross (UCK), Propaganda Service (P) and Technical service (TZ).

The troops of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) are organized into battailons composed of 3-4 companies each and commanded by the chiefs of battailon. Every company has its own area of the activity and the borders of its territory are passed only in the exceptional case. The company consists of 3 - 4 platoons each and avey platoon has 3-4 spuads each with 1 machine gun and 8-10 fighters. The fighters are armed with machine pistols, pistols, guns and hand grenades. A heavy company is sometimes organized as the fourth company of a battailon. It has heavy machine guns and mortars, or even a light artillery. The squads live in well camouflaged hiding-places and underground shelters. For the purpose of operation the Ukrainian Insurgent Army organizes detachments of various strength. Recently the detachments of the UPA receivad their names and numbers. The number of the battailons and companies of the UPA is unknown, but the number of the detachments is estimated to pass over 100.

We are able to give here an exemplary organization of the forces of the UPA-West which operated to the West of the Curzon line. The part of these forces passed, 1947, Czechoslovakia and entered the US zone of occupation in Germany. The other part crossed the Curzon line into Ukraine.

Battailon "Lemko" - commander REN
Detachments: 9, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98

Battailon "Beskyd" - commander SHELEST
Detachments: 21, 23, 24, 27, 28

Battailon "Zamok" - commander
Detachments:11, 12, 13, 14, 15

Battailon "Baturyn" - commander Michael
Detachments: 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

Battailon "Wolves" - commander Karpo
Detachments: "Wolves" 1, 2, 3 ; 4
Commander School of the UPA "Colonel Konyk"
4 companies.

The total strength of the UPA-West including the territorial services of the area was estimated, 1947, on 8 000 figthers.

The strength of other UPA forces is unknown.

Territorial organization of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement comprises the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) with its territorial network, the Security Sevice, (SB), the Ukrainian Red Cross Organization (UGK) and the Technical Service (TZ).

Every village in Western Ukraine has its "chief" who is called "stanychny" and its intendant and courrier. 7-12 villages are united in a "bush" (ukr. kushch). The chief of a "kushch" is assisted by an intendant, 2-3 courriers and 5-6 men of guards. He imposes taxes on the population and collects food, clothes and shoes. He is responsible for the storage and issue of the supplies, for their transportation and the administration of the quarters. Besides he collects informations and passes them to the higher organizations, i.e. "rayons". Furthermore he organizes counter-espionage and makes security lists. The "kushchs" are the subdivisions of the higher organizations "rayons" which are organized to the scheme presented in the organization of the "kushch". The "rayon" is subordinated to the "super-rayon" and this to the "district", which is the highest of the Known territorial organizations of the OUN. This territorial organization provides UPA troops with food, forage, disifectants, hospital supplies, fuel for cooking ned heating, and illuminants.

The "Security Service" (SB) is responsible for security and counter-espionage. It is very well organized caused the Soviets much damage by its actions. It has its collaborators among the Soviet officials and Soviet army and policemen. It is the most hated organization by the Soviet occupation administration in Western Ukraine as one can it from the article printed in Soviet-Ukrainian official newspaper "Radyanska Ukraine" (Soviet Ukraine) under the heading "Nationalist" (from Aug. 14, 1946). This article states frankly that the fight against Ukrainian "Nationalists" is very hard and difficult, because the latter are "masters of masquerade", they have "security service" of their own and their own "propaganda" based on their own "ideology" with its sources in the publications of Prof. Miachel Hrushevsky and Prof. Serhiy Yefremov (Ukrainian scholars condemned by the Soviets).

Another statement aboutthe Ukrainian SB was included in the manifesto of Premier Khruskchov and Soviet general Ryassnyi to the Ukrainian Insurgents and SN-men. They stated that the "criminal" and "dangerous" SB holds the troops and civilian population in strong discipline. The order of the chief of NKVD of province Drohobycz confirms that "SB" is very "dangerous" organization and directs the attention of his "secret collaborators" to the methods of combatting its activities. It states that the "SB "tries to fight insubordination and desertion with all its forces." The territorial organization of SB corresponds to the territorial organization of the OUN.

The "Ukrainian Red Cross" organized the medical service of the UPA and of the OUN. It mobilizes the girls, trains them as nurses and cares for the wounded soldiers of the UPA. The Ukrainian Red Cross organized the underground hospitals for the UPA which became famous in the world. The Red Polish newspaper "Glos ludu" (People's Voice) wrote about such a hospital: "Recently an underground field hospital was discovered in a forest." There was nothing seen on the surface but trees and grass. Ten metres under the ground there was a hospital with corridors, operatin rooms, infirmaries, beds, medical equipment. When the hospital had been discovered the doctors and the nurses defended themselves heroically and committed suicide when the ammunition came to the end." The correspondent of the Communist Polish newspaper ends its article, sying: Nobody on the surface heard anything of this underground tragedy of men and women... who showed a "ferocious fanaticism and strange heroism". Another description of these hospitals is given by London "Times" (June 20, 1947) and "Le Phare" (Brussels) from July 10/11, 1948. The role of the Jewish physicians must be emphasized here. A Jewish doctor KUM died as a hero in the defence of the field-hospital of Trukhaniv, near Stryj he commanded, on Aug. 5, 1945. Many other Jewish doctors and nurses served with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has developed not only quite a good security service as well medical service of its own but also a good propaganda service. Every detachment of the UPA as well as every link of the territorial organization has its own propagandist who is responsible for the propaganda services and activities in his region. The Ukrainian Resestance Movement has its underground printing offices where the press organs and periodicals are printed. There are many underground periodicals in Ukraine as f.e. "Ideya i Chyn" (Idea and Action)-the ideological magazine of the OUN, "Samostiynist" (Independence), "Za Ukrainsku Derzhavu" (For the Ukrainian State),

"Povstanats" (Insurgent - the paper of the UPA). The humorous paper "Perets" (Pepper), the popular information paper "Informacijni Visti" (Information News), "Lisovyk" (The Man or the Woods) and many others. It is interesting to note that Ostap Vyhhnya, once the outstanding Ukrainian satiris and author of "The Smiles", was banished to Siberia, 1930. In 1945 he was brought back to Ukraine to combat widespread Ukrainian underground satiric pamphletering. As the Ukrainian illegal magazine "Ukrainian Pepper" was very popular in Ukraine, the Soviet government founded in Kiev "The Red Pepper" and Vyshnya was put in charge of it. Apparently he did not justify the Communist Party hopes, inasmuch the Union of Ukrainian writers upon the order of the Politbureau charged that the "Red Pepper" was "substituting spite and vulgarity for popular humor".

The underground propaganda network was quickly passing all available information by the whisper propaganda which was much used. Besides letters, newspapers, bulletins, posters, slogans and pamhlets were printed and distributed especially in towns where the military garrisons were stationed. The propaganda in the densely populated centers was considered especially important. The small size material was used when the Red army units were intent to carry out round-ups against the UPA. Slogans like "What was the fight for ?", "Do you want to go on starving ?, "Down with Stalin and Hitler !" and like had a strong influence upon the morale of the Red Army soldiers. Recently the Ukrainian Resistance Movement has concentrated its propaganda efforts on the dissimination of the information in the towns and citties of the Ukrainian territory. The propaganda material is distributed by the dispersion of the posteards and slogans as well as by the forwarding the propaganda literature by post. Propaganda pamhlets and leaflets attacking the different points of Soviet propaganda line, separate thesis taken up on meetings and sessions, attacks against separate persons active for Soviet propaganda are being sent anonymously by post. In big cities the direct distribution into letter-boxes at the door, or inserting of propaganda literature into pieces of garments, as well as inserting of laflets into books and magazines in public libraries is often used, too. They were also accidents when separate Soviet administrative officials were taken prisoners and they were set free receiving intensive orientation lectures. Special instructions for teachers of public school are being prepared. Other persons were selected and the individual approach was organized.

Revolutionary formations of the OUN and the UPA pay a very great attention to the fight in the economical sector. Everywhere in Ukraine summons against the Stalin Five Yeer Plan ere spread and the antidemocratic and sponging character of Stalin's plan is shown. The slogans of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement call up for the fight against the exploitation of the farmers and workers, for the social justice, for the national independence etc. We give here some summons of the UPA:

"Working people! In the fourth 5-Year Plan the Stalin spongers have made but aeroplanes, guns and tanks, but no articles which you need for your daily life ! No preparation for war ! Fight for real peace and a high living standard ! Away with the Stalin's imperialists !"

"Working people ! Down with the inverted declarations of Stalin about the transition to Communism. We do not want to be deceived by boasting about an erection of socialism. We want a free and good life ! We want the fight against the Bolshevist exploitation ! Down with the Stalin parasites !"

"Workers ! Stalin spongers oredred the trade-unions to organize the socialistic Stachanow contest ! Down with the Stalin trade-unions ! Down with this tool in the hands of the Stalin clique to exploit the working class ! Death to the commissaries of the Stalin trade-unions ! Let the real workers be the leaders of the trade-unions ! We want to fight for the real democracy in the trade-unions !"

"Kolkhoze farmers ! The Stalin parasites enjoy their life by means of your products, while you suffer from starvation ! Take the products for yourselves, for you are the producers. Take your own bread ! Chase away the guards of the Kolkhoz grain ! Kill the active NKVD controlling people and their spies !"

"Workers of Ukraine ! The fourth 5 Year Plan is preparation for new attacks at foreign countries and for supression of other peoples. We do not want to die for the Stalin imperialistic interests ! Break all Stalin plans wherever you can ! The sooner the Stalin empire will collapse the better for you ! Long live the fight of the Ukrainian people for their independent state ! Long live the freedom of the peoples and the freedom of the individual !"

These UPA summons were especially spread during the march of the Soviet troops from the West to the East after the war. Thus the leaflets of the UPA were brought to all parts of the Soviet Union. At this time every piller box, sign-post, telegraph and mile pole, railway station and train was stuck by the leaflets of the UPA.

The contents of the propaganda of the UPA classifies the UPA not only as a military, but also as a most important political force.

The Technical Service (TZ) operated the underground printing offices, prepared leaflets and other printing material for the distribution, operated the underground radio-stations, stored explosives mined the terrain and carried out the demolition of the bridges, railway tracks and buildings. It operated the famous "Insurgent V I"

which sometimes were used, as for ex., in the battle of Grubieszow, on May 27 and 28, 1946. This was the common Polish-Ukrainian action against the NKVD garrison of this town. The "Insurgent V P" completely demolished a few buildings of this town where the Soviet NKVD and the Red Polish Security troops garrisoned. On the part the Polish Resistance Movement the troops of VIN (Freedom and Independence) participated.

(4) - The Attitude of the Ukrainian Population

The attitude of the Ukrainian population towards the Bolshevist regime is marked by a strong doubt in the real force of the Soviet Union. The first source of this belief is the poor equipment and the tattered uniforms of the Red Army soldiers and the ruthless terror of the Soviet administration, which is believed to crumble down before a good blow on the part of the USA and Great Briatain. Thus with the victory over Germany the Western Allies were credited only. The population of Ukraine believes into final rebellion against the regime in the case of war. The deceptive Bolshevist practice has called forth a deap hartred against everything that comes from the Bolshevist government, especially against the Bolshevist propaganda, which was recognized by the people as puro trick to enslave the masses. The main effort of the Soviet propaganda was directed against the peasants to step up surrendering of farming products, but this propaganda was a complete miss and the Bolsheviks had to turn to the terror and intimidation. The peasants stedfastedly refused to give and to organize the collective farms. When under pressure they becamo passive but they refuse to betray the fighters and their operations even when tortured or suffering heavy material damages through billited NKVD troopers destroying crops, farming objects and houses.

It ist self-evident that the Ukrainian popular masses wholeheartedly support the UPA forces. Even when the Bolshevist troops applied the severest measures after the amnesty dateline and blockaded the area of the Insurgent activities for more than 3 months, the Ukrainian peasants supplied the UPA units with all the necessities, passed on vital informations, housed the Ukrainian insurgents and cared for the woundes and suffering UPA soldiers. They gave warnings of danger and in every way showed their symathy. Oppression, imprisonment plunderings and murderings of civilian population, deportations to the Siberia and farther North and East were unable to change the feelings of the Ukrainian population. The Ukrainian population knew that the Ukrainian insurgents strove for their independent government and for the just solution to the problems where the people would freely

decide their fate. The masses want to pull through the long fight along with Ukrainian insurgents and to help them in every respect. Without this support the Ukrainian Resistance Movement could not exist even one single day. The population believes that once truth will win over and the enemy of the whole Ukrainian people will be chased out of the country.

The real attitude of the Ukrainian population towards the Soviets and the Communist regime is very well known in the Soviet Union. The press of the world is reporting lately the vast and all-embracig purges now taking place in Ukraine. The Communist Party of Ukraine administrative personnel, literary and scientific organizations, collective farms and industry have undergoneunthorough purges. The Stalin government has decided to purge all phases of Ukrainian life. All Ukrainians, who are attached to their past and history and who understood that Ukraine as a nation is separate from Russia and spiritually connected with Western civilization, have had to be removed from their posts. In this "independent" Ukraine the master of the Kremlin, through his all-powerful NKVD, persecutes thousands of Ukrainians not because they are guilty of revolutionary acts against the Soviet Union, but they are being liquidated simply because they are Ukrainians and love their way of life which is quite opposed to that of the Russian people.

Premier Khrushchov gave a sensational declaration about the Ukrainian nationalists in the Communist Party and administrative personnel reported "Pravda". He asserted that the Communist Party of Ukraine, of which he was general secretary, failed "to organize widespread criticism of hostile bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism" and as a result "there have been ideological mistakes and distortions". He revealed that he has had to dismiss two-thirds of the heads of the regional Soviets. In some districts, such as Sumy (Eastern Ukraine) 91%, in Nikolaev and Rivno districts 83% of all personnel had to be removed. Over 38% of all regional secretaries of the Communist Party have also been replaced. These revelations have caused consternation in the Kremlin. The Politburo issued orders to seek the causes of this "crime". It was stated that danger comes from Ukrainian literature, historical studies and theatre. Several writers and editors were criticized and censured for spreading theories connected with Ukrainian nationalism. A study, "The History of the Ukrainian People and its Culture", "propagated Ukrainian nationalist ideas, alien to the Soviet ideology", according to the opinion of the Politburo. Another book, " A Survey of the History of Ukrainian Literature", published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev,

was condemmed because it "had separated literary history from the class struggle and had said nationalism was a decisive factor in the development of literatura". Several other writers and critics were accused of over-emphasizing the influence of Western European literature on that of Ukraine. Several writers and poets were denounced for "forgetting fundemental ideological demands of the party", for "opposing the Ukrainian people and culture to the Russian people and culture", for "spreading the ideas of patriarchal self-genorating origins of Ukraine's people and its culture" and for "the idealization the remote past and distortion the life of the Soviet people" etc.

Premier Khrushchov's revelations about his troubles in Ukraine were only a part of the entire truth. Despite the policy of persecution and mass deportation constantly conducted by the Soviet Government in Ukraine, the Ukrainians remain bitterly opposed to Stalin's regime and do not cease fighting for their liberation. It is no wonder then that this Soviet policy of extermination levelled against the Ukrainian people evoked a bitter reaction among the Ukrainians. Within the boundaries of its own country and abroad, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is operating against the Soviet gorvernment, which only with great difficulty succeeds in copying with those partisans who are ready for anything. Three times the gorvernment of Soviet Ukraine has announced an amnesty for the members of the Ukrainia resistence movement, but three times the Ukrainian Insurgent Army has rejected this proposition and continues it seemingly hopeless struggle against the Red Russian rule in Ukraine. The Ukrainian revolutionaries believe that the orisis between the democratic world and the world of Red totalitarianism is inevitable and that their struggle against the Red Russians will soon become one of the important sectors of the fight of the democratic nations against Red fascism.

(5)- How do the Soviets fight the Ukrainian Resistance Movement ?

The Soviets were not prepared to meat such a strong resistance in Western Ukraine, which was carried out by the UPA and all affiliated organizations. Soo they recognized that they have to do with an equal partner. Their frontal attacks directed in August and September 1944, against the UPA were not successful. The terror campaign against the broad masses of the Ukrainian population resulted in making many to join the UPA. The Soviets were forced to change their tactics and to go over to the more detailed campaign of destruction. This was the beginning of a hard struggle between the Soviet occupation administration and NKVD forces and the Ukrainian resistance movement.

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In their fight gainst the Ukrainian resistance movement the Bosheviks applied following counter-measures: (a) spy system and provocation, (b) amnesty campaign, (c) offensives against the UPA connected with the round-ups on villages and woods, (d) propaganda against the Ukrainian resistance movement in the press, radio and in the meetings of the local population, (e) organization of the special units for the fighting of the UPA consisted of former Red partisans and former Ukrainian Insurgents, (f) prolonged blockades of villages and woods by important army and police troops (the so-called garrisons), (g) registration of the local population, (h) collective responsibility for the members of family of the insurgents and their property, (h) d deportations to Siberia, (i) public torturing of the insurgents and their relatives.

In the first days after their arrival into Western Ukraine the Bolsheviks tried to organize a network of agent-provocateurs (stool pidgeons) among the local population. For this purpose the arrested the Ukrainian youth in mass and afterwards turned them loose. This complicated the task of the UPA, because it was known that among these boys and girls were many pressed in the services of the NKVD. The UPA had to check all persons set free whether they were agents or not. This required much chacking work on the part of the UPA and SB, but they preferred to do that than to "liquidate" all suspects which was intended by the NKVD.

The Bolsheviks lay a special stress on placing their agents into the UPA and OUN attempting to disorganize these organizations from their interioir. Thus, they set free all prisoners taken in battles in order to mislead the counter-agents of the UPA and SB. Of course it was a hard task to determine who was volunteered for provaction job and who was not. The recruited agents-provocateurs tried to infiltrate the ranks of the UPA and to report on proceedings. To disspell any possible doubts the NKVD created sitnations which should clear their agents from any suspicion. It organized "break-outs" from prisons, "flights" from detention camps, etc. But the UPA and SB knew that odds were great against such a freed prisoner not to be a stooge. Therefore all they who returned had to pass through a careful screening and observation, before they were again admitted to services or were doomed. Being once in Bolshevik hands demands a highest amount of suspicion. Such an agent-provocateur can sit in the underground shelter months long doing nothing of suspicion and trying to seem O.K. for to get again into confidence of their comrades. The Bolsheviks do not rush such agents into action knowing that the more their man has got into confidence the more he can achieve.

A certain number of Ukrainian insurgents softened up by the Soviet amnesty went out of the woods and took up residence in the by Bolsheviks controlled areas. To encourage this group Bolsheviks let the first groups go free. Some of them were afterwards selected for provocation jobs. They were pressed to the assassinations of underground leaders. The Bolsheviks expected that Ukrainian SB will act discriminately and kill everybody from the amnested fighters creating thus a tension among the population. But SB proceeded cautious and acted promptly in checked cases. Victims who agreed to cooperate with NKVD got under two fires and sometimes tried to hide themselves.

Another method was sending "rats" to the UPA. Red army and police officers with an excellent knowledge of Ukrainian language, or sometimes without it in case they were Georgians, Uzbeks, or like went to the UPA, pressented themselves as anti-Bolsheviks and offered their services. They tried to get into confidence and did not refuse no mon means for that. A Georgian, major of NKVD and an agent-provocateur on a big scale was admitted for service in the UPA and trying to get the full confidence of the command discovered the network of Bolshevist (minor) agents within the ranks of the UPA, killing many of them with his own hand after a trial before the UPA court-martial. Of course he was allowed to do that the all-powerful NKVD which inthis way tried to assure him a higher position in the ranks of the UPA. We can give here another fact illustration the Bolshevist methods in setting a network of agents-provocateurs within the Ukrainian resistance movement. One day " a political prisoner" was brought on into a villagesoviet near Lviv. He was under the guard of 2 NKVD officers and 4 NKVD men. The population of the village was called into the village-soviet and asked to recognize the man. Nobody knew him. Asked about his name the "prisoner" did not answer and was, therefore, beaten severliy. During the questioning one of the NKVD officers lay his pistol on the table. Suddenly the "prisoner" seized the pistol from the table, shot down the other officer of NKVD who was in his way and ran amay from the room. The ordered "chase" gave no results. The man could not be found and the local population gave him protection. He told the men who gave him shelter that he was an officer of the UPA and asked to give him the liason to the next group of the UPA. He was given. But there, in spite of the whole story with the shooting the NKVD officer man was taken on suspicion, because he came directly from the Bolshevists and soon was disclosed as an officer of NKVD sent to the UPA with a provocative job. The whole theater with the

shooting in a village-soviet was organized in order to gain the confidence of the local population and the killed officer was a political prisoner dressed up as an officer of NKVD.

The main effort of the NKVD in combatting the UPA and the Ukrainian resistance mevement is laid on the organization of the high-styled provocation. But socording to the secret instruction of gen. Saburov, the chief of MHB of the province Drohonycz many afforts of MHB failed because of excellent counter-measures of the Ukrainian SB.
The amnesty propaganda was an endeavour of the Communist Party and the Soviet government of Ukraine to break down morale of the Ukrainian resistance movement. To strengthen their appeals the Soviets carried out blockades of the terrain by massed troops and tried to whitewash themselves blaming the underground for hardships on population caused by their counter-measures against the UPA. They also force the innocent people to sign the surrender application and, afterwards they boast about the great number of illegal partisans who alledely gave up.

Till July, 1945, three appeals of the above-mentioned nature were issued with a great publicity: September 1944, Dezember 1944, and May 1945. In the last one the Soviets boasted with their victory over Germany and threatened that this is the last appeal and that it will be followed by a merciless destuction of the underground. In the fall of 1945 "Ukrainian" Foreign Minister Dimitri Manoilsky delivered a great speech before the teachers' convention in Lviv. While his herangue was entirely devoted to the Ukrainian underground and its almost legendary leader Stepan Bandera, he promised in the name of the Soviet government to "pardon" all who will cease their anti-Soviet activities. Anti-Soviet activities, however, have considerably increased after this speech and elections to the Supreme Soviet, February 1946, were boycotted everymhere in Western Ukraine.

The last "mermaid's song" was sung by the "Ukrainian" Minister of NKVD gen. W. Ryassnyi on Nov. 15, 1945. This order promising amnesty was distributed in the country by spring and summer, 1946. There were not many naives in Ukraine that had deluded themselves with this merry song of NKVD siren. Often the surrendering on amnesty came from "holers", i.e. unorganized partisans who carried a warfare of their own and from former deserters of the Red Army who jeined the UPA in order not to participate in the war. The insurgents organized in the UPA seldom were participatin in such amnesty schemes.

Having no success in their amnesty propaganda the Soviets started to the round-up operations in villages and woods. They can be classifie

into two groups: (a) limited round-ups carried out by local NKVD troos with the aim to harrass the population, to keep it in terror, to pilfer the passants, to seek necessary information and to apprehend the discovered underground fighters, (b) broad actions carried out by army and police troops with support of the artillery, tanks and aeroplanes. Thousands of special troops participate in such actions. Sometimes the high NKVD officers are in charge of such actions. The great offensive of the Red army and NKVD troops against the UPA, by summer 1945, was commanded by Premier Khrushchov and gen. Ryasnyi.

The proceedings during such an action are following. First the area is saturated by the spies weeks in advance. Then the troops are concentrated in the villages and in the woods in vicinity of the raided object. Strong reconnaisance troops are ant to find out the enmy. The heavy equipment is moved up and the attack from all sides is opened. The woods and villages are advenced by the troops in skirmish line. Among such operations the most outstanding were: (1) the Kremyanets operation in Volhynia (May 1944). Here the Reds employad 30 000 troops. The operation and with a battle near Hurby. Some 5 000 UPA fighters succeded in a scaping from the circle, but many Ukrainians were killed and wounded. Here gen. Stupnytsky lost his life: (2) the operation against the "Chorny lis" (Black Forest) near Stanyslaviv (Nov 1-4, 1944). Reds employed two divisions of their troops, (3) the second operation against the "Chorny Lis" (July 1945) and against the Volchkiv lis near Stanyslaviv; (4) Khrushchov-Ryassnyi offensive (July-September 1945) when 3 army and many divisions of NKVD were used against the UPA in province Stanyslaviv and Drohobycz, (5)Offensive against the mountain massive of Hoverla and Chronohora in the Carpathian mountains (Oct.- Nov.,1945), (6) Moskalenko offensive by Spring, 1946, in the province of Stanislavov and in the Bucovina. During this offensive Cen-Col. Moskalenko was killed near Tiaziv, prov. Stanislavov, (7) Swierszczewski offensive on the territories to the West of the Curzon line (Febr.March, 1947). Gen. Walter Swierszczewski was killed in this offensive. (8) The offensive of Soviet, Red Polish and Czechoslovak troops against the UPA after the assassination of gen. Swierszczewski. A great number of Soviet, Red Polish and Czechoslovak troops was used in this operation and was supported by the actions of motorized troops and air force.

At the time of these big operations the Bolshevists did not ceasa the systematic harrassing actions. They tried to interfere with the preparations of UPA troops for winter time and to prevent the establishment of winter quarters, winter stores, cloting and work shops.

In order to combat the Ukrainian resistance movement the Soviets ordered the registration of the Ukrainian population. All inhabitants had to be registered in a village-soviet and the lists of the present population had to be stuck at the door. By February, 1945 the Reds began to confiscate the property of the Ukrainian whose relatives were with the UPA. When a shot fell in the village the Soviets unsed to burn down the section of the houses from where the shot fell and to murder the population of neighoring houses. The torturing of captured insurgents was applied in public. In the village Berlohy, distr. Kaluch the Bolshevists murdered 53 innocent peasants as a reprisal for the murdering of 1 Bolshevik. Many facts of public torturing, murdering and pilfering of the Ukrainian were reported then from all parts of Ukraine. But soon the Bolshevists themselves convinced that those methods were false because they serve in the first line to the UPA.

They began their famous deportations to the Siberia and farter east. In September, 1944, the Bolshevists picked out some "sympathizers" of the Ukrainian resistance movement and deported them in order to intimidate the remsining Ukrainian population. In winter, 1945, they started to the mass deportations. They continue them up to now.

In their combatting the Ukrainian resistance movement the Bolshevists often use the false bands of allegedly Ukrainians insurgents, They call them "istrebitili" (destroyers). The Bolshevists dressed up as Ukrainian insurgents invade the Ukrainian villages and pilfer them in order to evoke the opposition of the population to the resistance movement. In another cases the "insurgents" ask for shelter and help in order to find the poeple which sympathize with theresistance movement. In the beginning of the fight against the Soviets such a masquerade was very dangerous, because the Ukrainian poeple an open sympathy to every manifestation of the resistance movement. At the present time those methods are very well known all over Ukraine and, thereforde, they cannot heve any results.

The bands recruited from former insurgents and from worst characters are also very dangerous. They know well the localconditions and the language of the Ukrainian poeple. The extreme effort had to be used to neutralize them. They were exterminated without pity. Now their ranks are considerably thinned and they limit their activity to guarding warehouses and administration buildings.

There is no doubt that the fight against the Bolsheviks is very hard and difficult. But the Ukrainian underground is waging and imlpacable war against the Soviet forces being determined for anything. And it is extremely efficient in fighting the Soviet forces.

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МУЗЕЙ-АРХІВ